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#### IV.—THE LITERARY INFLUENCE OF MARTIAL UPON JUVENAL.

In all the field of Roman literature there are perhaps no two writers who are more closely related or throw more light each on the other than Juvenal and Martial. At the same time these poets, in certain respects, present a marked contrast. As the style of Juvenal, moulded and controlled by the rhetoric of the schools, differs widely from the epigrammatic terseness and pointedness of Martial, so the high moral purpose and seriousness of the former stand in sharp antithesis to the mocking triviality of the latter. But, notwithstanding this wide difference in training and point of view, so many coincidences of thought and expression crowd upon the attention of the reader that the question arises, How are we to account for these similarities, so numerous and striking? Is it sufficient to say with a recent editor<sup>1</sup> that they portray the social conditions of the same age? Some explanation going far deeper is in my opinion rendered necessary by the phenomena which present themselves when the two poets are placed side by side. Before entering into the discussion of this question we must glance at it from the chronological point of view.

The twelfth book of the epigrams of Martial, the last to be published, appeared toward the end of 101, or in the beginning of the following year. If, then, we are to place the work of Juvenal as a whole in comparison with that of Martial, we must assume that none of the satires were written until after that date. Leaving for the moment the question of the time of composition, we know from the reference to the condemnation of Marius (I 49) that the first book (sat. I-V), which was doubtless written first, was not published before the year 100, while other indications point to a later date.<sup>2</sup> That the publication did not take place until several years later is made more probable by the fact that the second

<sup>1</sup> Friedländer, Juvenal, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. I 15 f., 25 and 33 also if the reference is to M. Aquilius Regulus; cf. Dürr, Das Leben Juvenals, p. 18, Anm. 75.

book (sat. VI), which may with some confidence be assigned to the year 116/117, is then not separated from the first by an unnaturally long interval.<sup>1</sup>

If the emperor of the seventh satire is Hadrian—and of this there can in my opinion be no reasonable doubt—the third book (sat. VII-IX) must have been published about 119/120. Two passages (XIII 17 and XV 27) place the date of the fifth book (sat. XIII-XVI) as late as the year 128, and the fourth book falls between—perhaps about 125. Though there is no reason to suppose that the order of the books is other than chronological, we may not assume that the same is true of the individual satires. Doubtless the first satire, as the introduction to the first book, was written later than the other satires of that book. And here arises our greatest difficulty. When were these earliest pieces written? Are we justified in placing their composition at a later date than that of Martial's twelfth book? For the assumption that some of them were written during the reign of Domitian and published only after his death, there is no ground that will stand the test of examination.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, though absolute certainty is impossible, there is indirect evidence which points strongly to a later date. The details of this evidence need not occupy us here. Suffice it to say that the statement of the vitae (*ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit*), the silence of Martial in XII 18 with regard to Juvenal's poetical activity—and on this point I am inclined to lay stress—and the tone of the satires themselves, looking back as they do on the past, often on the distant past, are best explained if we assume that Juvenal not only did not publish, but did not write satire until after the appearance of the last of Martial's epigrams, the twelfth book, in the year 101/102. And it is upon this probable hypothesis that we shall proceed in considering the influence of the earlier upon the later writer.

One of the most striking features of the Roman poetry of imperial times is the almost universal dependence of the poet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Friedländer, p. 8 ff., who places the publication of the first book between 112 and 116, probably too late.

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich (II, p. 21) made this assumption for the second and fourth—not the second and third, as Friedländer (p. 6, n.) erroneously states—, Synnerberg (pp. 59 f., 62 f.) for the second and third, Lewis (ed. 1882, pp. 24, 57) for the first and second, Pearson (Juvenal of Pearson and Strong, 2d ed., 1892, p. 14) for the second, third and fourth, and Nettleship (Lectures and Essays, second series, p. 131 f.) for "many of the earlier satires."

upon his predecessors. True of all literature in a greater or less degree, this phenomenon is nowhere more marked than in the poetry of the Silver Age. The poet of the period employed the regular poetic phraseology, which had reached its highest development in the time of Augustus and long since become stereotyped.<sup>1</sup> It would therefore be a great mistake to suppose that every time we meet a passage in Valerius Flaccus or Statius which recalls a turn of expression in some poet of the preceding century, we must infer that the later was of set purpose imitating the earlier poet. No doubt indisputable examples of imitation can be pointed out in any book of the *Argonautica* or the *Thebais*, but by far the larger number of such coincidences of expression are quite unintentional and result from unconscious reminiscence. But when we turn to Martial and Juvenal, the question is a very different one. Here we are considering the influence, not of a poet of the preceding century whose works were familiar to all from childhood, but of a contemporary and friend, who, it should not be forgotten, stood further than any other poet of that day from those rhetorical tendencies so pronounced in Juvenal. In view of the intimate social relations existing between the two poets, and the fact that Juvenal is mentioned by Martial in VII 24, and addressed in VII 91 and XII 18, we must, it seems to me, assume for the satirist such familiarity with the epigrams as to reduce to a minimum the possibility of his unconsciously repeating their thought or phraseology.

It is worthy of remark that most of the passages in which Martial's influence can be observed are to be found in the earlier satires.<sup>2</sup> On general principles this is just what we would expect, for a writer is always less independent in his early than in his later period, and it seems to me to lend support to the view that the many striking similarities in the two poets are not due to accident or to a common environment, else would they be more evenly distributed.

An element of uncertainty enters when in a given parallel the features common to Juvenal and Martial are found also in some earlier writer. But in such cases it would seem more probable

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Vollmer, *Statii Silv.*, Leipzig, 1898, Einl., p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> In sat. I-VI I have recorded sixty-five instances, in VII-IX thirteen, in X-XII nineteen, and in XIII-XVI twelve. The same is true of Juvenal's reminiscences of Vergil, as pointed out by Gehlen, *de Iuvenale Vergilii imitatore*, Göttingen, 1886, p. 6.

that Juvenal had in mind the words of the epigram, still fresh in his memory; or at least, if he recalled the earlier poet at all, it was through the suggestion of Martial's lines. And even if this were not true, such instances are too rare and unimportant to affect our general conclusions. Of course, it is not claimed as certain that in every passage given in the course of this paper, Juvenal intentionally reproduced something from the epigrams; but a collective view of the material herewith presented will convince that, while some coincidences may be due to accident, others to the fact that the writers lived in the same times and beheld the same social conditions, yet a real influence of the epigrams on the satires is not to be denied.

The literary relationship of Juvenal to Martial is not now brought to notice for the first time. Many years ago W. S. Teuffel—to go no further back—called attention to some of the parallel passages in a foot-note to his essay on Juvenal.<sup>1</sup> More recently H. Nettleship, in his 'Life and Poems of Juvenal,'<sup>2</sup> devoted several pages to this question. After speaking of the "remarkable correspondence between Martial's epigrams and the satires of Juvenal," he continues: "The correspondence I allude to points to one of two conclusions: either that Juvenal, writing some twenty years after Martial's death, took a pleasure in imitating his friend's poetry; or that, like Calvus and Catullus, Vergil and Horace, Martial and Juvenal were much in each other's confidence, working and it may almost be said thinking together." He then quotes parallel passages from the two poets to illustrate their view of literature, their choice of subjects, their use of personal names, and their correspondence in phraseology, and concludes that these coincidences "are of a kind which points rather to independent handling of the same themes by two intimate friends than to imitation by the one of the other's work," and "during the greater part of Domitian's reign Martial and Juvenal virtually worked together." But this view has won little acceptance, is not, as far as I know, now held by any one, and must for reasons already suggested be considered untenable. The next important utterance on this subject came from L. Friedländer,<sup>3</sup> who, reviewing Nettleship's essay, wrote as follows: "Ihre Ueber-

<sup>1</sup> Stud. u. Char., first edition, 1871, p. 416 n.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Phil. XVI (1888), pp. 41-66 = Lectures and Essays, second series, Oxford, 1895, pp. 117-144.

<sup>3</sup> Jahresb. über d. Fortschr. d. cl. Alt.-wiss. LXXII (1892), p. 191.

einstimmung in Worten und Wendungen ist grösstenteils zufällig und natürlich: eine absichtliche Beziehung möchte ich nur bei Juvenal 5, 147 auf Martial, I 20, 4 annehmen." In his edition of Juvenal (1895) he preserves an absolute silence with regard to the influence of Martial, not even remarking in his note to V 146 f. that this is in his opinion the only place in which intentional imitation of Martial can be assumed, although the Martial passage—erroneously cited as I 21, 4—is quoted. Of his introduction, so satisfactory in most other respects, Friedländer devotes only a few lines to the literary relationship of Juvenal to Martial, and in them does little more than point out the difference between the two poets in spirit, style and point of view, beginning with the words (p. 46): "Da nun die Zustände dieser letzten [i. e. the time of Domitian] sich auch in den Epigrammen seines Freundes Martial in Hunderten kleiner Bilder abspiegeln, ist natürlich, dass beide Dichter sich vielfach berühren."<sup>1</sup> A fuller treatment of this subject is one of the features which many scholars have missed in one of the most useful and scholarly editions of this decade.<sup>2</sup> And now we shall attempt by an examination of parallel passages to discover the attitude of Juvenal toward his friend's work, with which he was so familiar.

In the first place let us consider passages similar in both expression and thought, and in some instances even in their context. No one would think of denying a conscious reminiscence of Martial on the part of Juvenal in the following parallel:

Boletum qualem Claudius edit, edas (M. I 20, 4)  
 boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit  
 ante illum uxoris, post quem nihil amplius edit. (Iuv. V 147 f.)<sup>3</sup>

The words are the same in both cases and convey the same thought in the same connection. And this is the passage referred to by Friedländer in the remark already quoted. In both poets the idea that the poor man who values his freedom and independence must dine at home, is expressed with coincidence at the main point:

<sup>1</sup> I except, of course, casual reference and the discussion of personal names, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gercke, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1896, n. 12, p. 970.

<sup>3</sup> Martial is cited according to W. Gilbert, ed. emendat., Teubner, 1896, and Juvenal according to Jahn-Buecheler, third edition, 1893.

Liber eris, cenare foris si, Maxime, nolis (M. II 53, 3)  
 Liber non potes et gulosus esse (M. IX 10, 4) ?  
 tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris (Iuv. V 161).<sup>1</sup>

The extreme difficulty of earning an honest livelihood at Rome is described by Martial in two poems, one of which, after mentioning, in the form of a dialogue with Sextus, some of the honorable occupations only to show that they bring no returns, concludes :

“ Quid faciam ? suade : nam certum est vivere Romae.”  
 Si bonus es, casu vivere, Sexte, potes (M. III 38, 13 f.).

In IV 5, writing in the same vein, the poet names several of the most profitable but at the same time most dishonorable callings then practised in the city. Now, Juvenal seems to have had these poems in mind when he wrote

quid Romae faciam ? mentiri nescio ; librum,  
 si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere (Iuv. III 41 f.),

which—in much the same way as in Martial, though naturally the details are different—is followed by a list of base but lucrative pursuits engaged in at Rome. Again, lamenting the scanty remuneration that attends intellectual and literary pursuits, Martial speaks of the reciting poet who receives as his only reward the kisses thrown by his audience to signify approval ; and even these he may not keep, but must return to show his gratitude :

Illic aera sonant : at circum pulpita nostra  
 Et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant (M. I 76, 13 f.).

Now, Juvenal employs the same expression with reference to the ill-paid rhetor :

paenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae (Iuv. VII 203).

It will be observed that the satirist has here added ‘vanae’; frequently in such passages he differs from Martial in the addition of words or phrases which either are synonymous with those he has borrowed or give further detail. The use of ‘respicere’ of the patronus, common as it is in Latin, may yet indicate a connection between Juvenal, III 185 and Martial, X 10, 5, because of the fact that the backgrounds in the two cases are essentially the same, and the verb occupies the same metrical position in the one as in the other :

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Iuv. V 127.

Qui me respiciet, dominum regemque vocabo? (M. X 10, 5).  
 quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes?  
 ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello? (Iuv. III 184 f.).

The passages

Cum coloephia sedecim comedit (M. VII 67, 12)  
 comedunt colyphia paucae (Iuv. II 53)

are alike in having feminine subjects, and though no further reflection of Martial, VII 67 is found in the context, this poem has exerted an influence on other parts of Juvenal.<sup>1</sup> The phrase 'di faciles,' found also in Lucan (I 510), should not be omitted:

Riserunt faciles et tribuere dei (M. I 103, 4)  
 Et dare quae faciles vix tribuere dei (M. XII 6, 10)  
 evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis  
 di faciles (Iuv. X 7 f.).

Here may be mentioned some rare expressions which are common to our two poets. 'Dei' is used to mean 'temples':

Cum tot iam tibi debeat triumphos . . .  
 Tot spectacula, tot deos, tot urbes (M. VI 4, 2 f.)  
 haec Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum (Iuv. III 218)<sup>2</sup>;

'lucernae' is found with the sense of 'night':

Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas (M. X 19, 18)  
 ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas (Iuv. X 339);

'ut multum,' which is not cited from any other author before Vopiscus (Aur. 46, 4), occurs:

Et lotam ut multum terve quaterve togam (M. X 11, 6)  
 hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,  
 ut multum, duo sufficient (Iuv. VII 186 f.).

The rare use of 'similis' to signify 'a portrait of' is a favorite with Statius<sup>3</sup>:

In qua tam similem videbis Issam (M. I 109, 19)  
 si quis Aristotelen similem . . . emit (Iuv. II 6).

Of less consequence, but perhaps worth recording, are Mart. VII

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 205, 208.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Iuv. I 116 and Cic. Att. IV 1, 4, where the names of the goddesses Concordia and Salus, respectively, are used to designate the temples.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vollmer to Silv. I 1, 101.



78, 1 f. and Iuv. XIV 131 f., where 'conchis' and 'lacertus' are used in connection as types of poor food, and

Aspice, quam tumeat magno iecur ansere maius (M. XIII 58),

which has 'magno iecur' in the same metrical position as the corresponding words in

anseris ante ipsum magni iecur (Iuv. V 114).

But this expression was no doubt very common; compare Pliny, H. N. X 22, 27. Passages of this kind, in which both thought and phraseology are similar, are by no means as numerous as might be expected. In several instances, too, the similarity does not extend beyond a single word, and that sometimes a word not at all unusual. It is therefore quite clear that Juvenal, in a period when wholesale and unreserved appropriation of the work of others was the rule, refrained almost entirely from this most direct method of borrowing, as far as Martial was concerned.

But there is still a considerable number of Juvenal passages in which we see verbal coincidence with Martial, sometimes confined to a single word, sometimes extending to a phrase of several words. The most remarkable feature of these exact verbal repetitions is that, while the words, as far as the likeness goes, are the same, the general point of view is different, the immediate thought to be expressed is not the same, and the words themselves have usually a different application and often an entirely different meaning. Now, there can in my opinion be little doubt that Juvenal rarely, if ever, unconsciously repeated words or phrases occurring in the epigrams. Whether he was in every, or even in any, case aware that he was adapting Martial's language to another point of view or giving it a new meaning, is a different question and, of course, one which does not admit of a certain answer. It is true that the words of an author sometimes remain in the memory when their context and real meaning have been forgotten. Not long since a rather boisterous child was in my hearing reproved as an "empty-head," and the authority quoted in support of the reproof was Goldsmith:

"And the loud laugh that spoke the *vacant* mind."

But while this is not surprising in the reminiscence of older authors, it is improbable that Juvenal, in the case of his contemporary and friend, remembered the words apart from their

meaning and connection. To my mind the passages about to be given point towards a probability not only that Juvenal was conscious of using expressions found in Martial, but that he for the most part allowed himself to borrow them only when his point of view or thought was not the same. In one instance the leading word is to be understood literally in Martial, but metaphorically in Juvenal:

ardeat illa licet (M. VIII 59, 12)  
ardeat ipsa licet (Iuv. VI 209).

The former refers to a burning 'lucerna,' the latter to a woman in love. In one case Juvenal uses literally the expression which Martial employed in a figurative sense:

Stat contra dicitque tibi tua pagina "Fur es." (M. I 53, 12)  
stat contra starique iubet (Iuv. III 290).<sup>1</sup>

The latter passage is taken from the description of the dangers that threatened the unattended pedestrian in the streets of Rome by night. A rare metaphorical use of 'os' is seen in both poets, but with quite different meaning:

Antiquae venies ad ossa cenae (M. V 44, 11)  
ossa vides rerum vacuis exucta medullis (Iuv. VIII 90).

The epigram refers to the remains of a repast, the satire to the provincials stripped of all their possessions. The phrase 'mollior agna' is found in Martial in praise of a gentle maiden, but in Juvenal is applied to a man as a scornful epithet:

Puella . . . Agna Galaesi mollior Phalantini (M. V 37, 1 f.)  
vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna (Iuv. VIII 15).

A similar example, which explains itself, is

(Venus) Dixit, et arcano percussit pectora loro (M. VI 21, 9)  
arcano qui sacra ferens nutantia loro  
sudavit clupeis ancilibus (Iuv. II 125).

As a last instance in which the same phrase has very different meaning in the two poets, we may quote Juvenal's words about the astrologer:

nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit (Iuv. VI 562),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pers. V 96 stat contra ratio.

that is to say, the narrower his escapes and the more severe his hardships, the more implicit the faith of the people in his skill. Martial, on the contrary, using the same expression, referred to the qualities of a good book :

Victurus genium debet habere liber (M. VI 60, 10).

But there is a larger class of parallels in which the repeated words or phrases, though used in the same or almost the same sense, are found in an entirely different context and have reference to persons or things of a totally different character. Martial speaks of true fame with the words

notumque per oppida nomen  
Non expectato dat mihi fama rogo (III 95, 7 f.),

whereas Juvenal in the same words gives vent to his scorn :

notaeque per oppida buccae (III 35).

In a description of poverty Martial says that the poor man has nothing to live on but the smell of his dirty kitchen :

Pascere et nigrae solo nidore culinae (I 92, 9) ;

the expression 'nidore culinae' Juvenal has taken into a quite different connection, where he speaks of the rich man thinking that his client is attracted only by his luxurious table :

captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae (V 162).

Again, Martial refers to flowers for a garland, Juvenal to provision for the table :

Seu Praenestino te vilica legit in horto (M. IX 60, 3).  
asparagi, posito quos legit vilica fuso (Iuv. XI 69).

Without special comment the following parallels of this kind may be quoted :

O quanta est gula, centies comesse ! (M. V 70, 5)  
quanta est gula quae sibi totos  
ponit apros (Iuv. I 140 f.) ;

Non vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed vitium (M. XI 92, 2),  
nonne igitur iure ac merito vitia ultima fictos  
contemnunt Scauros (Iuv. II 34 f.) ;

Succumbit sterili frustra gallina marito (M. XIII 64, 1),  
quo mordetur gallina marito (Iuv. III 91) ;

Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo (M. XIV 128, 1),  
tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo (Iuv. VIII 145);

Fila Tarentini graviter redolentia porri (M. XIII 18, 1),  
filaque sectivi numerata includere porri (Iuv. XIV 133);

Ne tibi pallentes moveant fastidia caules (M. XIII 17, 1),  
usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique  
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso (Iuv. X 201 f.);

Alea parva nuces et non damnosa videtur (M. XIV 19, 1),  
si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres (Iuv. XIV 4);

Haec faciant sane iuvenes (M. IV 78, 9),  
fecimus et nos

haec iuvenes (Iuv. VIII 163 f.);

iam sumus ergo pares (M. II 18, 2. 4. 6),  
non sumus ergo pares (Iuv. III 104).

In several of these quotations it may be observed that Juvenal, possibly influenced by the rhythm of Martial's verse, has employed the same words in the same metrical position. This is particularly apparent in the following example, in which a verse is made up, as far as all its main parts are concerned, by a combination of two verses of Martial:

Haec ego *Pieria* ludebam tutus *in umbra* (M. IX 84, 3),  
*quadrans* mihi *nullus* est in arca (M. II 44, 9),  
nam si *Pieria quadrans* tibi *nullus in umbra* (Iuv. VII 8).

A large majority, however, of the cases in which the influence of Martial on Juvenal may be considered possible consists of passages dissimilar in phraseology, alike only in thought. Seventy-seven such instances are reported in this paper. It has usually been deemed a sufficient explanation of these coincidences of thought to say that Martial and Juvenal lived in the same age, dwelt in the same city, moved in the same society. But a careful examination of the evidence here brought together reveals, in my opinion, something beyond that. Whenever Juvenal wished to express a thought already familiar to him from Martial, with the few exceptions already noted he did so in a very different way, though no doubt the rhythmical phrases of his friend were often before him. And to a certain extent this is just what we would expect, in view of the well-known differences between the men. As a rule, however, while the thought expressed in the particular verse and sometimes even in the whole context is exactly the same as in Martial, the avoidance of the same words is apparently so studied as to strengthen the conviction that in such cases the satirist was

unwilling to borrow the exact words of his friend. If Martial's sentence is brief and plain, Juvenal's is often extended and rhetorical without adding any really new idea, though the converse of this is sometimes true, when Juvenal expresses himself in a briefer and even condensed form. In some places, too, where Martial has employed the usual word in the connection, Juvenal uses a rare synonym.<sup>1</sup> All this becomes clearer as we examine the following parallel passages:

Quod tam grande sophos clamat tibi turba togata,  
Non tu, Pomponi, cena diserta tua est (M. VI 48)  
quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem  
sportula? (Iuv. XIII 32 f.).

Here, as in many cases to follow, exactly the same thought is presented without the repetition of a single word. And it is interesting to observe how the different ideas of the one writer are represented in the other. 'Laudat vocalis' corresponds to 'sophos clamat,' 'sportula' to 'turba togata' and 'cena,' 'agentem' to 'diserta,' and 'quanto' (sc. clamore) to 'tam grande.'

Quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides (M. V 22, 8)  
nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat  
axis (Iuv. III 257 f.).

The same picture is before the mind of each poet, the crowded streets of Rome in which the pedestrian was always in danger, but the 'marmora' of Martial is the 'saxa Ligustica' of Juvenal, for the rope which draws is put the axis which supports, and hence the 'trahere' of Martial is the 'portare' of Juvenal. So in describing a fish too large for any platter,

Quamvis lata gerat patella rhombum,  
Rhombus latior est tamen patella (M. XIII 81)  
sed derat pisci patinae mensura (Iuv. IV 72),

the satirist uses 'patina' instead of 'patella,' 'piscis' instead of 'rhombus' and expresses the sense of 'lata' by the noun 'mensura.' Both poets refer to the custom of training the ape to fight from the back of a goat for the amusement of the people:

Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas (M. XIV 202)  
(qui) discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella (Iuv. V 155).

<sup>1</sup> The author of the lost Epitome seems to have altered the language of Livy in a similar manner. Compare Wölfflin's remarks in *Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gram.* XI, pp. 2, 7.

In this instance 'discit' takes up the idea of 'callidus,' 'iaculum' that of 'hastas,' Martial has no word for goat, Juvenal none for ape, the former represents the fighter on the defensive (eludere), the latter on the offensive (torquere). A good example to show how Juvenal sometimes presents the thought in a more extended and rhetorical form is the following:

Marmora Messalae findit caprificus (M. X 2, 9)  
(ad saxa) discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici (Iuv. X 145).

Both describe the ravages of time on the stone which bears the sepulchral inscription, regardless of the fame of the man in whose memory it was erected.<sup>1</sup> Under precisely similar circumstances the Romans clad in festal robes are called in Martial (VIII 65, 5) 'candida cultu Roma' and in Juvenal (X 45) 'niveos ad frena Quirites.' The well-known comparisons of fine apples to those from the gardens of Alcinoüs and of the Hesperides are found in combination in both Martial and Juvenal:

Non mea Massylus servat pomaria serpens  
Regius Alcinoi nec mihi servit ager (M. X 94, 1 f.)  
(pomæ) qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,  
credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris (Iuv. V 151 f.).<sup>2</sup>

This identity of thought without verbal coincidence appears also in the following passages:

Nec cenat prius aut recumbit ante,  
Quam septem vomuit meros deunces (M. VII 67, 9 f.)  
(oenophorum) de quo sextarius alter  
ducitur ante cibum ravidam facturus orexim,  
dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino (Iuv. VI 427 f.);  
Tendere quae tremulum Pelian Hecubaeque maritum  
Posset ad Hectoreos sollicitare rogos (M. VI 71, 3 f.)  
quibus incendi iam frigidus aevo  
Laomedontiades et Nestoris hirnea possit (Iuv. VI 325 f.);  
Regelare nec te pestilenties possit (M. III 93, 17)  
praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis  
febre calet sola (Iuv. X 217 f.);

<sup>1</sup> This feature may be seen illustrated at greater length in Iuv. III 212-222, a passage which, besides expressing precisely the same thoughts as Mart. III 52, 1-4 in a fuller and more detailed form, contains two clear verbal reminiscences recorded elsewhere in this paper. Compare also Iuv. XIV 145-149 with Mart. II 32, 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mart. XIII 37.

Aut minus aut certe non plus tricesima lux est  
 Et nubit decimo iam Telesilla viro (M. VI 7, 3 f.)  
 sic fiunt octo mariti  
 quinque per autumnos (Iuv. VI 229 f.);  
 Nunc implere sinus securos gaudet et absens  
 Sortitur dominos, ne laceretur, avis (M. VIII 78, 11 f.)  
 ipse capi voluit (Iuv. IV 69);  
 Scis, quid in Arsacia Pacorus deliberet aula (M. IX 35, 3)  
 haec eadem novit quid toto fiat in orbe (Iuv. VI 402).<sup>1</sup>

The theory that Juvenal, when he had the same thought to convey, consciously avoided forms of expression which had already gained literary currency through Martial is further supported by a large number of coincidences different from the preceding class only in the repetition of some word. As a rule, however, this common part is nothing more than a proper name or a substantive for which no suitable synonym was available. Both poets have occasion to describe a table with large round top and ivory legs:

Tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes (M. II 43, 9)  
 latos nisi sustinet orbes  
 grande ebur (Iuv. XI 122 f.).

The meaning is exactly the same and the only word repeated is 'orbes.' 'Suspendis' becomes 'sustinet,' ivory in Martial is 'Indis dentibus,' in Juvenal 'grande ebur.' The age of wine is referred to as follows:

Quod sub rege Numa condita vina bibis (M. III 62, 2)<sup>2</sup>  
 (vinum) capillato diffusum consule potat (Iuv. V 30);

the size of a 'muraena':

Quae natat in Siculo grandis muraena profundo (M. XIII 80, 1)  
 Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit  
 gurgite de Siculo (Iuv. V 99 f.);

a mean habit of dress:

Sordidior multo post hoc toga, paenula peior,  
 Calceus est sarta terque quaterque cute (M. I 103, 5 f.)

<sup>1</sup> Parallels of the same kind may be found in the following places: Mart. XI 3, 5: Iuv. XV 111; Mart. X 68, 11 f.: Iuv. VI 186; Mart. XI 43, 5: Iuv. X 224; Mart. X 35, 14: Iuv. III 17; Mart. III 30, 1. 3: Iuv. I 119; Mart. I 73: Iuv. IV 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mart. XIII 111, 2.

Rupta cum pes vagus exit aluta (M. XII 26, 9)  
 si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter  
 pelle patet (Iuv. III 149 f.);

noise in the city at night :

nec quiescendi  
 In urbe locus est pauperi (M. XII 57, 3 f.)  
 magnis opibus dormitur in urbe (Iuv. III 235);

the man who is suspected of setting fire to his own house :

Rogo, non potes ipse videri  
 Incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum? (M. III 52, 3 f.)  
 suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes (Iuv. III 222);

sham morality :

Qui loquitur Curios adsertoresque Camillos  
 Nolito fronti credere : nupsit heri (M. I 24, 3 f.)  
 qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt (Iuv. II 3)  
 frontis nulla fides (Iuv. II 8).

Traces of the avoidance of Martial's phraseology on the part of Juvenal may be seen also in the following passages :

Vis fieri dives, Bithynice? conscius esto (M. VI 50, 5)  
 quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius? (Iuv. III 49);  
 (personam Germanam) haec timet ora puer (M. XIV 176, 2)  
 personae pallentis hiatum  
 in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans (Iuv. III 175 f.);  
 O cui Tarpeias licuit contingere quercus (M. IV 54, 1)  
 an Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum  
 sperare (Iuv. VI 387);  
 Qua (sc. toga) . . . vellet Apicius uti,  
 Vellet Maecenas Caesarianus eques (M. X 73, 3 f.)  
 vestem  
 purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam (Iuv. X 38 f.);  
 Aestus serenae aureo franges Tago  
 Obscurus umbris arborum (M. I 49, 15 f.)  
 tanti tibi non sit opaci  
 omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum (Iuv. III 54 f.);  
 Auditur tota saepe poeta die (M. X 70, 10)  
 inpune diem consumpserit ingens  
 Telephus (Iuv. I 4 f.);  
 Si facie nobis haec erit ingenua (M. III 33, 4)  
 ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris (Iuv. XI 154);



Nec tener Argolica missus de gente minister,

Sed stetit inculti rustica turba foci (M. IV 66, 9 f.)

porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus.

non Phryx aut Lycius (Iuv. XI 146 f.);

Sunt tibi boleti, fungos ego sumo suillos (M. III 60, 5).

vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,

boletus domino (Iuv. V 146 f.);

Gnosia Minoae genuit vindemia Cretae

Hoc tibi (i. e. passum) (M. XIII 106)

qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae

passum . . . advexisse (Iuv. XIV 270 f.);

Hanc tibi Cumanae rubicundam pulvere terrae (i. e. patellam)

Municipem misit casta Sibylla suam (M. XIV 114)

et municipes Iovis advexisse lagonas (Iuv. XIV 271);

Gemmatum Scythicis ut luceat ignibus aurum,

Aspice. Quot digitos exuit iste calix! (M. XIV 109)

nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert

a digitis (Iuv. V 43 f.);

I precor et totos avida cute combibe soles (M. X 12, 7)

nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem

effugiatque togam (Iuv. XI 203 f.);

Nunc sunt crura pilis et sunt tibi pectora saetis

Horrida, sed mens est, Pannyche, volsa tibi (M. II 36, 5 f.)

hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia saetae

promittunt atrocem animum, sed . . . (Iuv. II 11 f.);

(Philaenis) gravesque draucis

Halteras facili rotat lacerto (M. VII 67, 5 f.)

cum lassata gravi ceciderunt brachia massa (Iuv. VI 421)<sup>1</sup>;

Casta nec antiquis cedens Laevina Sabinis (M. I 62, 1)

intactior omni

crinibus effusis bellum dirimente Sabina (Iuv. VI 163 f.);

Tu licet et manibus blandis et vocibus instes,

Te contra facies imperiosa tua est (M. VI 23, 3 f.)

dicas haec mollius Haemo

quamquam et Carpophoro, facies tua computat annos (Iuv. VI 198 f.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Mart. VII 67, 9 f. with Iuv. VI 427 f., p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> The same conditions exist in the following passages: Mart. VII 58, 9: Iuv. II 8 f.; Mart. III 47, 14: Iuv. XI 70 f.; M. X 18, 3: Iuv. XII 96; M. XIV 221, 2: Iuv. V 115 f.; M. III 52, 2: Iuv. III 214; M. IV 5, 6: Iuv. I 38 f.; M. I 103, 7: Iuv. XIV 129; M. II 28, 2: Iuv. X 53; M. IX 63, 2: Iuv. IX 136; M. X 74, 8: Iuv. IX 54 f.; M. XIII 122: Iuv. XIII 85; M. VI 58, 7 f.: Iuv. XII 64 f.; M. XII 15, 7 and III 39, 1: Iuv. XIII 43; M. XIV 98, 2: Iuv. XI 108; M. XI 2, 1 f.: Iuv. XI 90; M. X

To say that all these coincidences of thought and expression are due only to accident and environment seems to me to be out of the question. Assuming for the satirist, as I think we are justified in doing, perfect familiarity with the Epigrams, we are led to the conclusion that Juvenal, with the few and for the most part unimportant exceptions mentioned in the early part of this paper, avoided expressing the same thought in the same way as Martial, though he allowed himself now and then to borrow Martial's words when thought and point of view were different. Moreover, the fact that this principle, with almost perfect regularity, explains the relation of the parallel passages to each other gives strong probability to the theory that this was Juvenal's conscious attitude. At all events, even if that be not conceded—and of course demonstration is impossible—surely it may never be affirmed that the literary influence of Martial upon Juvenal was slight or limited to a single passage.

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70, 7 : Iuv. VIII 142 f.; M. IX 22, 10 : Iuv. VII 142 f.; M. IX 22, 9 : Iuv. VII 132; M. III 44, 6 : Iuv. VI 270; M. X 5, 3. II 19, 3. XII 32, 25 : Iuv. IV 116. V 8. XIV 134; M. I 88, 9 : Iuv. III 27; M. XII 42, 5 f. : Iuv. II 138; M. VIII 21, 3 f. : Iuv. V 23; M. XII 36, 8 f. : Iuv. V 108 f.; M. X 68 : Iuv. VI 184-195; M. II 66, 3 f. : Iuv. VI 492 f.; M. IX 2, 4 : Iuv. V 67 f.; M. IX 73, 9 : Iuv. VII 26 f.; M. IX 2, 1 : Iuv. V 113.